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Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Barr in support of the bill. The bill is sound in its objectives. It was clearly my obligation to be there for the meeting of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I understand, since coming into the Senate Chamber, that an exciting and inciting speech was made by the acting majority leader, the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Long). It left at least the impression with some of my colleagues, as they reported it to me, that the acting majority leader gave them the impression he thought that some of us who are opposed to the unconstitutional and illegal war in South Vietnam may not share the same loyalty to our Government as he does.

Mr. President, I know that these are hysterical days and some people become emotionally aroused in many places—apparently even some Senators in the Senate. But I believe we should pause and take a look at the fact that we are living in a historic hour with a great historic debate now going on in the Senate, where there are sincere and honest differences of opinion among us as to what American foreign policy should be followed in Asia.

I do not intend to engage in any ad hominem exchange, directly or indirectly, with the acting majority leader, but I do intend to keep my sights on what I consider to be some of the great issues confronting this country in this critical hour.

If anyone believes that it is pleasant or enjoyable for those of us in the Senate who find ourselves in serious disagreement with the administration, he could not be more wrong. But, Mr. President, I am perfectly willing to let history be the judge of the outcome of this debate. I am perfectly willing to let history be the final determinant as to who is right and who is wrong. However, each of us, irrespective of how he views this great crisis, has the same obligation under the oath which he took when he came into the Senate—and I took that oath four times—and I do not intend to walk out on that oath, no matter how many stones of innuendo are cast at my skull.

Mr. President, I intend to keep faith with what I believe my trust to be. I do not yield to anyone in the Senate in my desire to give the fullest protection to American boys in South Vietnam. However they should not be there. They never should have been sent there in the first place, and the means should be found to bring them home.

Those of us seeking to bring an end to this war by recommendations for procedures other than those which our President is following, are seeking not only to protect those boys by seeking to bring the war to an end, but are also seeking to prevent the killing of what we believe will be increasing thousands of American boys in Asia in a war to which we should not be party. It is a war in which others should be in there enforcing a peace.

Mr. President, briefly those who favor this war and those of us who are opposed to it represent the two sides to this great controversy.

We opposed to it are perfectly willing to let the American people be the judges, too. Let me say most respectfully to my President that the American people will be the judges of this issue. I believe that the President is quite wrong if he believes that there is a consensus of American public opinion in support of the war or of his policies in connection with it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Oregon has expired.

MR. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MR. MORSE. Mr. President, I believe that there is not a consensus of American public opinion in support of this war, but that there is a consensus in support of peace. Thus far, the President has succeeded in giving the impression to many Americans that his road is the road to peace.

Some of us who disagree with him are of the opinion that if we continue to follow the course of action of the President of the United States, the United States will be involved in a massive war in Asia. Hundreds of thousands of American boys will die as that war escalates.

I have been saying for some weeks now, that there may be a surrender of the Vietcong and North Vietnam in a matter of not too many weeks from now; at least, their capacity to fight conventional warfare may be destroyed. But that is not going to produce peace, for guerrilla warfare can still be carried on indefinitely. That will only bog us down and bed us down in Asia for decades to come as, eventually, the Asians carry out what I believe to be inevitable; namely, their unlagging determination to see to it that no Western Nation—including the United States—succeeds in exercising a dominating influence in Asia.

That is a part of this debate. I rise at this moment only to register by caveat and say to my acting majority leader, and anyone else in the Senate who shares his view, that I would not trade my loyalty to my country for the majority of anyone in the Senate—and all of us are loyal, in my judgment, on both sides of the issue. But, as I stated the other day, and repeat, I am very unhappy and saddened over the differences which have developed over viewpoints in respect to this war, but it will never be a personal difference, so far as I am concerned. I regret the difference which has developed between the President and me in respect to how the President is conducting foreign policy. I believe that he is dead wrong, but I continue to love him. However, he knows I love my country more. I am not going to change my course of action merely because some think unkindly of me and are prone to express unkind remarks.

Our real job, as I see it, is to do everything we can to try to substitute the rule of law for the jungle law of military might which the United States is presently practicing in Asia without a scintilla of right under the Constitution of the United States.

PERSONAL STATEMENT BY
SENATOR MORSE

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, at 12 o'clock, today, I was presiding as acting chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations at a public hearing on the Asian bank bill. We heard able testimony by Eugene Black, David Bell, and

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represent that some telegrams, pro and con, and some letters which I have received, and certain newspaper material, be printed in the Record.

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON,
Eugene, Oreg., February 9, 1966.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: With admiration for your uncompromising integrity I support entirely your efforts to recall U.S. policymakers from the brink of disaster to which they have led us. Do all you can to rescind the powers which the President has so flagrantly abused. If the legislative bodies do not force a change in the direction of our foreign policy to one of peaceful coexistence, identification with reform movements instead of repression, and adherence to international law, there is little hope. The Dominican Republic incident has shown us that Vietnam is only one of many places where U.S. violation of peoples' basic right of self-determination can and may lead to the ultimate disaster.

Although I have great hope for the U.N. I think the the NLF, DRV, and China are justified in their distrust of it. By using the U.N. as a tool for its own aims in the Congo (and to a more questionable and perhaps forgivable extent in Korea), and in ignoring it in favor of an OAS mission which it was able to make to its own specifications during the Dominican crisis, the United States has rendered the U.N. unacceptable to the Vietnamese as an arbiter. I support both the desire of the NLF and the DRV to return to the Geneva Accords of 1954, and the jurisdiction over elections by the International Control Commission created therein.

The peace that has to be made soon in Vietnam must be a just peace; the NLF must figure largely in any settlement made. If they are now largely Communist that is our fault. It is glaring proof that U.S. policy must be turned from its support of anything anti-Communist, no matter how horribly reactionary, to support for popular movements. If we persist in seeing the world in solely Communist versus anti-Communist terms, the emerging nations and downtrodden will have no choice but to turn against us. The need for and inevitability of revolution and social change must be made the cornerstone of a new foreign policy. In hypocritically paying lipservice to this as the President has done, and in calling us the force of revolution, as he did last night in Los Angeles, he is talking in the idiom of 1984.

I would like to encourage you to renew your pleas for recognition of China and her admission to the U.N. Also, I would like to

recommend to you a recently published report by the American Friends Service Committee, "A New China Policy: Some Quaker Proposals," Yale University Press (New Haven, 1965). Its only bias is in favor of humanity. I am horrified by the fact that many people to whom I talk actually believe that the war we are fighting is against Chinese soldiers who have invaded Vietnam. Is there nothing one can do to stop the Government from encouraging these distorted views? Although I cannot be certain of my facts I believe that we were not even fighting against any North Vietnamese in the south until after the Gulf of Tonkin incident was used as an excuse to widen the war to the north.

I leave you with two final requests for legislation and action:

1. Push for an extensive investigation into the CIA, an institution which I feel is largely responsible for our errors; and
2. I would support nationalization of defense industries—profits made on war or its possibility serve only to sustain or encourage slaughter.

I am no longer proud to be an American; I am ashamed. My only allegiance now is to honest and fearless men like you, and to human beings regardless of their political stripe. If there is ever any service I can render you, please do not hesitate to ask.

Please put me on your mailing list, and send me any available copies of your recent speeches. I would also appreciate as many copies of the Mansfield Report on Vietnam as you can send me (up to 25 copies). If bulk is not available I would be content with one.

Sincerely yours,

STEPHEN H. ARNOLD,
NDEA Fellow in Comparative Literature.

FEB 16 1966